

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00080 01 OF 02 171628Z

42

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-11 OIC-04

SAM-01 IO-14 AEC-11 AECE-00 DRC-01 /163 W

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P R 171340Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0139

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0084

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0080

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD

ENDING 14 JUNE 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, THE EAST CONTINUED TO PUSH ITS MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL, WHICH EAST HAS BEGUN TO DESCRIBE AS A "FIRST STEP" AGREEMENT ON A COMPROMISE BASIS. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT UK AND CANADIAN FORCES ARE "FOREIGN FORCES" AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE REDUCED ALONG WITH US AND SOVIET FORCES. DURING THE INFORMAL MEETING,  
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PAGE 02 MBFR V 00080 01 OF 02 171628Z

ON JUNE 4 SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ACCUSED THE WEST OF BEING

INFLEXIBLE AND OF SEEKING TO IGNORE THE EASTERN PROPOSALS AND TO FOCUS ALL DISCUSSION ON THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. DURING THE PLENARY SESSION ON JUNE 6, THE US REP REBUTTED KHLESTOV'S EARLIER CHARGES THAT ALLIED DATA ARE BIASED. THIS LED TO AN IMPROMPTU REPLY BY KHLESTOV IN WHICH HE AGAIN ARGUED THAT WESTERN OFFICIALS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THERE IS APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE OPPOSING FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND SAID THAT THE EAST WILL INTRODUCE AND DISCUSS DATA AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, THE WESTERN ALLIES INDICATED TO THE EAST THEIR WILLINGNESS TO WORK OUT THE DURATION OF THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME AND TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A REVIEW CLAUSE. EASTERN REACTION TO THE FIRST OF THESE ELEMENTS WAS TO DESCRIBE IT AS A POSITIVE BUT INADEQUATE STEP. EASTERN REACTION ON THE REVIEW CLAUSE HAS BEEN RATHER NEGATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INFORMAL MEETINGS: DURING THE SESSION ON JUNE 4, THE EASTERN REPS STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. THEY MAINTAINED THAT THEIR MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL IS A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET, AND THAT THEIR OFFERING SUCH A PROPOSAL IS AN INDICATION OF THE PACT'S FLEXIBILITY AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV REPEATEDLY MADE TWO POINTS DURING THE MEETING: (A) FLEXIBILITY; AND (B) THE WEST IS ATTEMPTING TO FOCUS ALL DISCUSSION ON ITS PROPOSAL WHILE IGNORING THE EASTERN PLAN. KHLESTOV ARGUED THAT THE WEST HAS OFFERED ONLY MINOR CLARIFICATIONS TO ITS PROPOSAL, AND THAT THE WESTERN POSITION IS SURROUNDED BY CONDITIONS.

3. UK REP AMBASSADOR ROSE, USING TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, INFORMED THE EASTERN REPS THAT THE ALLIES ARE WILLING TO WORK OUT WITH THE THE DURATION OF THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME, AND THAT A PHASE I AGREEMENT COULD CONTAIN A PROVISION PROVIDING FOR A REVIEW AFTER A SPECIFIED TIME. ROSE ALSO TOLD

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00080 01 OF 02 171628Z

THE EASTERN REPS THAT THESE POINTS COMPLETED THE ALLIES' ATTEMPT TO ANSWER THE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS THE EASTERN SIDE HAD RAISED CONCERNING THE WESTERN PROPOSAL.

4. DURING THE INFORMAL SESSION ON JUNE 11, THE EASTERN REPS CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL IS A "PRACTICAL" AND FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO END WHAT POLISH REP STRULAK CALLED A STANDOFF. THE EASTERN

REPS BEGAN REFERRING TO THE SYMBOLIC PROPOSAL AS A "FIRST STEP". THEY ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO AMEND THIS PROPOSAL FURTHER TO MAKE IT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. SPECIFICALLY, STRULAK SAID THAT THE "FIRST STEP" AGREEMENT COULD CONTAIN A REVIEW CLAUSE; KHLESTOV STATED THAT THE EAST WAS WILLING TO CONSIDER WESTERN SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE SIZE OF THE FORCES TO BE REDUCED, AND THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS ALTERNATIVES TO NATIONAL CEILINGS. (THE OTHER EASTERN REPS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE EAST STILL HAS IN MIND AN EQUAL NUMBER REDUCTION OF ABOUT 20,000 ON EACH SIDE. EAST GERMAN REP OESER STATED THAT A "FIRST STEP" AGREEMENT SHOULD PROVIDE FOR A FREEZE ON THE REMAINING MANPOWER AND EQUIPMENT IN THE AREA.) THE EASTERN REPS DID NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR-EQUIPPED UNITS, BUT KHLESTOV DID SAY THAT THE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT COULD PROVIDE THAT ISSUES NOT DEALT WITH IN THAT AGREEMENT COULD BE TAKEN UP LATER.

5. THE EASTERN REPS ALSO ARGUED THAT THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FORCES OF THE UK AND CANADA ON THE ONE HAND AND THOSE OF THE US AND USSR ON THE OTHER. SINCE THE BRITISH AND CANADIAN TROOPS WOULD ONLY BE WITHDRAWN, THEY CONTEND, THE UK AND CANADA SHOULD JOIN IN THE REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET

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PAGE 01 MBFR V 00080 02 OF 02 171701Z

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P R 171340Z JUN 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0140

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0085

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0080

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. BILATERAL MEETINGS: DURING VARIOUS BILATERAL MEETINGS THE EASTERN REPS INDICATED THAT THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO OFFER STILL FURTHER "CONCESSIONS" IF THE WEST ACCEPTS THE SYMBOLIC OR FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. SPECIFICALLY, THEY INDICATED THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A "PHASED FIRST STEP AGREEMENT"; THAT IS, SO LONG AS ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MAKE A COMMITMENT FROM THE OUTSET TO REDUCE, THE ACTUAL REDUCTIONS NEED NOT ALL TAKE PLACE AT THE SAME TIME. SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY TOLD THE US DEPREP ON JUNE 5 THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT EXPECT EVERYONE TO ACTUALLY CARRY OUT THE REDUCTIONS AT THE SAME TIME -- WESTERN EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS COULD TAKE PLACE AT A LATER STAGE.

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PAGE 02 MBFR V 00080 02 OF 02 171701Z

POLISH REP STRULAK, CITING KHLESTOV, TOLD THE US DEPREP THE SAME THING ON JUNE 7. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE POLES STRONGLY DESIRE AN FRG COMMITMENT TO MAKE REDUCTIONS AT THE OUTSET. A POLISH DELOFF (COLONEL OSTASZIEWICZ) TOLD WEST GERMAN REP BEHRENDIS THAT A WEST GERMAN CONTRIBUTION OF TWO OR THREE THOUSAND MEN IN A FIRST STAGE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT.

7. ALTHOUGH THEY HAD LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT THE REVIEW CLAUSE (OR THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME CONCEPT) IN THE INFORMAL MEETINGS, THE EASTERN REPS DID ADDRESS THE ISSUE IN SEVERAL BILATERALS. IN GENERAL, THEIR REACTION WAS RATHER NEGATIVE, ALTHOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY ARE NOT QUITE SURE WHAT THE WEST HAS IN MIND. BOTH KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT A PROVISION THAT COULD LEAD TO A CANCELLATION OF A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT WOULD BE TOO DRASTIC A REMEDY. A POLISH DELOFF MADE A SIMILAR STATEMENT TO A MEMBER OF THE WEST GERMAN DELEGATION.

8. OTHER SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF BILATERAL MEETINGS:  
POLISH MILITARY ADVISER COL. OSTASZIEWICZ TOLD FRG REP

BEHREND'S THAT THE SUPERIORITY OF THE WARSAW PACT IN TANKS WAS BALANCED BY WESTERN SUPERIORITY IN NUCLEAR'S AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE A TRADE-OFF BETWEEN THE TWO. KHLESTOV TOLD BEHREND'S ON JUNE 10 THAT AN OBJECTIVE OF UNEQUAL REDUCTIONS WAS INEQUITABLE, AND THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A COMMON CEILING OF GROUND FORCES AT 700,000 WAS A DEVIOUS ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN FAVOR OF NATO WITH MINIMUM REDUCTIONS ON THE WESTERN SIDE. KHLESTOV ALSO SAID, ACCORDING TO BEHREND'S, THAT "THE EAST" DOES NOT HAVE ANY TANKS STORED IN THE AREA OF REDUCTION. (COMMENT: KHLESTOV MAY ACTUALLY HAVE SAID THAT THE USSR DOES NOT HAVE TANKS STORED IN THE REDUCTION AREA.)

9. PLENARY SESSIONS: THE SESSION ON JUNE 6 WAS SOMEWHAT UNIQUE IN THAT THERE WERE FOUR SPEAKERS. HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN MADE A SCHEDULED STATEMENT FOR THE EAST, REPEATING IN STANDARD TERMS THE EASTERN ARGUMENTS FOR ITS PROPOSAL AND AGAINST THAT OF THE WEST. THE US REP PRESENTED A  
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SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00080 02 OF 02 171701Z

STATEMENT REBUTTING THE CHARGES MADE BY KHLESTOV DURING THE MAY 30 PLENARY THAT US DATA IS BIASED. THIS LED TO AN IMPROMPTU REPLY BY THE SOVIET REP IN WHICH KHLESTOV MADE THREE MAJOR POINTS: (A) THE "CORRECT AND SCIENTIFIC" MANNER OF EVALUATING MILITARY CAPACITY IS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALL ELEMENTS OF ALL FORCES AS THE EASTERN SIDE DOES, AND THAT WHEN THIS IS DONE, ONE MUST CONCLUDE THERE IS A PARITY BETWEEN NATO AND THE PACT; (B) MANY HIGH-LEVEL WESTERN OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE US SECDEF, HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE EXISTENCE OF THIS PARITY; AND (C) BEFORE INTRODUCING ITS OWN DATA, THE EASTERN SIDE WISHES TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES OF WHO SHOULD REDUCE, AND WHICH FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED. KHLESTOV ADDED THAT THE EASTERN SIDE WILL PRODUCE FIGURES AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

10. CZECHOSLOVAK REP KLEIN MADE THE ONLY STATEMENT IN THE PLENARY SESSION OF JUNE 14, STRESSING THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO TYPES OF FORCES, NATIONAL AND FOREIGN, AND THAT THE BRITISH, CANADIAN, BELGIAN, AND NETHERLANDS FORCES IN THE FRG ARE FOREIGN. HIS CONCLUSION WAS THAT THESE FORCES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE SAME LIGHT AS THOSE OF THE US AND USSR. KLEIN ALSO REFERRED TO THE EAST'S MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL AS A "FIRST STEP", INDICATING THAT THIS ALLEGEDLY NEW PROPOSAL WILL BE A TOPIC OF PLENARY AS WELL AS INFORMAL SESSIONS.

11. COMMENT: AFTER PLAYING A STALLING GAME FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, THE EASTERN SIDE NOW APPEARS TO HAVE FIRMED UP ITS

TACTICAL APPROACH FOR THIS ROUND. IT APPEARS THAT THE EAST WILL CONTINUE TO ARGUE THAT ITS MODIFIED SYMBOLIC, OR "FIRST STEP", PROPOSAL IS A TRUE COMPROMISE, BUT THAT IT IS WILLING TO MAKE STILL FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO THE WEST IN ORDER TO SPEED UP THE NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT THE EAST SEEMS TO BE SEEKING IS AN AGREEMENT THAT: ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL MAKE A COMMITMENT TO JOIN IN THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTION OF PERHAPS 20,000 MEN PER SIDE; THAT THE US AND PROBABLY THE UK AND CANADA AND PERHAPS WEST GERMANY WILL ACTUALLY MAKE REDUCTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING; THAT THE OTHER WEST EUROPEANS WILL MAKE REDUCTIONS AT A LATER TIME; THAT THERE WILL BE A FREEZE ON  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00080 02 OF 02 171701Z

AT LEAST MANPOWER; AND THAT A POSSIBLE REDUCTION OF AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR-EQUIPPED UNITS WILL BE DISCUSSED LATER.RESOR

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